

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 OMB-01 EA-07 DHA-02 ACDA-07 EB-07 INT-05

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R 311200Z OCT 76
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WAHDC 9765
INFO USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KKBUL
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEHRAN 10830

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR IR US
SUBJ: SHAH'S BIRTHDAY INTERVIEW: POLITICAL ASPECTS

BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL: SUMMARY. IN FAR-RANGING, DEFINITIVE
INTERVIEW, INTENDED TO GUIDE RESURGENCE PARTY AND IRANIAN
PEOPLE, SHAH SUGGESTED IRANIAN IDEA OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN
RIGHTS MAY BE MORE VALID THAN THAT OF "CERTAIN SO-CALLED
DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES." HE STRESSED PRIMORDIAL IMPORTANCE
OF "SUPER-PRINCIPLES" OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND AN INDE-
PENDENT NATIONAL POLICY. HE DEFENDED IRAN AGAINST PUBLICITY
SUGGESTING CORRUPTION IN RECENT ARMS PURCHASES AND ALSO TOOK
A CRACK AT WHAT HE CALLED GENERAL BROWN'S "TRULY HILARIOUS"
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ARGUMENTS. HE SPOKE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RESURGENCE

PARTY AS A LEADER IN THE IDEOLOGY OF THE SHAH-PEOPLE
REVOLUTION, AND NOTED IMPROVEMENT IN IRANIAN STANDARDS OF
LIVING OVER 50 YEARS OF PAHLAVI DYNASTY. FOUR SEPARATE
AFTERTHOUGHTS DEALT WITH/ (A) IRAN'S DISINTEREST IN WHO
WINS U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, (B) IRAN'S DETERMINATION
TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST EXTERNAL THREAT, (C) IRAN'S IN-
TEREST IN EVENTS IN CHINA, AND (D) EXPLANATION THAT SOVIET
PILOT WAS RETURNED TO USSR ON BASIS OF BILATERAL ACCORD
AGAINST AIR PIRACY. WHILE INTERVIEW IS INTENDED TO
GALVANIZE IRANIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM, IT ALSO SPENDS GREAT
DEAL OF TIME REPLYING DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY TO VARIOUS
CRITICISMS LEVELED AT IRAN, MOST PARTICULARLY BY U.S.
SOURCES. END SUMMARY. END CONFIDENTIAL.

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. ON OCCASION OF SHAH'S BIRTHDAY,
OCTOBER 26, TEHRAN PRESS CARRIED WIDE-RANGING INTERVIEW
WITH SHAH COVERING AN EXTENSIVE GAMUT OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SUBJECTS (LATTER BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY).
INTERVIEW WAS GIVEN TO KAYHAN (PERSIAN) EDITOR AMIR TAHERI
ON OCTOBER 20 AND PRINTED DAY BEFORE BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS,
OCTOBER 25. MAIN THRUST WAS EFFORT TO GALVANIZE IRANIAN
PEOPLE FOR SACRIFICES AND ACHIEVEMENTS AHEAD. SHAH CASTIGATED
LAZINESS, FRIVOLITY AND USELESS SPENDING ON LUXURIES, BUT
WAS CAREFUL NOT TO DRAW OUTLINE OF THE FUTURE WHICH SMACKED
OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY. IN THE PROCESS, HE ALSO COMMENTED
ON NUMBER OF SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO USG.

2. DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS: IN PRAISING 90 PERCENT
PARTICIPATION OF IRANIAN REGISTERED VOTERS IN LOCAL ELEC-
TIONS WHICH WERE JUST HELD HERE, SHAH DREW INVIDIOUS
COMPARISON WITH "CERTAIN SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES"
WHERE IT IS SAID THAT LESS THAN 50 PERCENT OF ELECTORATE
MIGHT GO TO THE POLLS IN FAR MORE IMPORTANT ELECTIONS. HE
ASKED IF LATTER IS TRUE DEMOCRACY. "FOR SOME PEOPLE
DEMOCRACY MEANS WAY-LAYING PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY WOMEN, IN
BROAD DAYLIGHT IN THE CENTER OF MAJOR CITIES AND CAPITALS
AND ROBBING THEM BEFORE STABBING THEM TO DEATH, WITH THE
THIEF-CUM-MURDERER THEN WALKING AWAY IN FRONT OF PASSIVE
ONLOOKERS. BUT IS THIS DEMOCRACY? ARE THESE HUMAN RIGHTS?
...WHAT HAPPENS TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THOSE INNOCENT
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PEOPLE WHO GET MURDERED IN THEIR HOMES, IN STREETS, OR
HOTEL ROOMS FOR MONEY? DO THEY NOT HAVE RIGHTS? AND IF
THEY DO HAVE RIGHTS, WHO IS GOING TO PROTECT THEM? AND
WHAT DO WE DO? WE CURB THE PERSON WHO IS NOT ONLY A
TRAITOR BUT ALSO A TERRORIST. WE...DO NOT GIVE HIM THE
CHANCE TO HAND OVER THE COUNTRY TO THE ENEMY ON A PLATTER.
IS THIS NOT PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS?"

3. DEFENSE AND AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL POLICY: SHAH SAID HE HAD NO WORRIES ON INTERNAL IRANIAN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FUTURE BUT MANY WORRIES ON FATE OF CONTEMPORARY WORLD, WHICH HE SAID "WILL BE DECIDED IN SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS." HE SAID THAT BY THEN WE SHALL KNOW WHETHER OR NOT OUR CIVILIZATION SHALL SURVIVE OR BE RADICALLY TRANSFORMED. HE SAID HE WORRIED ABOUT THE GROWING MILITARY POWER OF THE "TOTALITARIAN BLOC," BUT PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE "OTHER SIDE'S LACK OF DISCIPLINE." HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT TOTALITARIAN COUNTRIES HAVE COUNTLESS PROBLEMS AND WEAKNESSES. HE HOPED EVOLUTION WOULD TAKE PLACE "FROM BOTH SIDES" SO THAT THE WORLD CAN REACH TRUE UNDERSTANDING AND AN ACCEPTABLE MODUS VIVENDI AS BASIS OF PEACE. "WAR IS TOO HORRIBLE EVEN TO IMAGINE...OUR ONLY INSURANCE AGAINST ALL THE POSSIBLE DANGERS OF THE FUTURE IS THE BUILDING OF STRENGTH." HE SAID IRAN'S INTERNAL REVOLUTION CAN ONLY TAKE PLACE IF PROPER ATTENTION IS PAID TO TWO PRIMORDIAL "SUPER PRINCIPLES." THESE ARE THE DEFENSE OF IRAN AND INDEPENDENT IRANIAN NATIONAL POLICY, FOR "IF THERE IS NO IRAN" (AS A RESULT OF EXTERNAL THREATS) THERE CAN BE NO PRINCIPLES OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION.

4. ANTI-CORRUPTION: IN EXTENSIVE REPLY TO QUESTION ON CORRUPTION, SHAH SAID MILITARY PEOPLE WHO HAVE DONE WRONG WERE PUNISHED, BUT THIS IS MORE DIFFICULT TO DO IN CIVILIAN SECTOR SINCE PURSUIT OF JUSTICE IS ELUSIVE IN IRAN AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. FOR EXAMPLE, IN U.S. "I AM TOLD, IF A PERSON IS SLANDERED HE MUST RUN AROUND THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND THE COURTS FOR UP TO 20 YEARS TO PROVE THAT HE HAS BEEN SLANDERED. THIS MEANS PARADISE FOR CRIMINALS. NOTORIOUS GANGSTERS ARE NEVER SENTENCED FOR

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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USIA-06 EA-07 OMB-01 DHA-02 ACDA-07 EB-07 INT-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9766
INFO USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TEHRAN 10830

THEIR KILLINGS...THIS SO-CALLED HEAD OF THE MAFIA WHO
DIED RECENTLY WAS GOING AROUND IN FULL FREEDOM WHILE EVERY-
ONE KNEW WHAT HE WAS DOING. BUT THEY COULD NOT LEGALLY
OBTAIN A CONVICTION AGAINST HIM." SHAH NOTED THAT IN
PUBLICITY INVOLVING LOCKHEED, NORTHROP AND GRUMMAN "NO
ONE COULD POINT A FINGER AT IRAN. ALL THE CORRUPTION WAS
AMONG THEMSELVES--I MEAN THE SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES."
HE NOTED THERE WERE OF COURSE THE LAVI BROTHERS, WHO WERE
"PEOPLE WITH NO DISCERNIBLE NATIONALITY." IN THE CASE OF
NORTHROP-PAGE IT WAS ESTABLISHED THAT THE BRIBE HAD IN
FACT GONE TO A EUROPEAN COMPANY AND NOT TO IRANIAN
OFFICIALS.

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5. GENERAL BROWN'S REMARKS: SHAH NOTED THAT: "BROWN
LATER APOLOGIZED AND SENT HIS DEEPEST REGRETS TO US. BUT
HIS SO-CALLED ARGUMENT WAS TRULY HILARIOUS. HE HAD SAID
THAT I WANTED TO REVIVE THE PERSIAN EMPIRE BECAUSE I
CALLED THE PERSIAN GULF THE PERSIAN GULF* IS THIS LOGICAL?
UNDER WHAT NAME DID HE HIMSELF KNOW THE PERSIAN GULF WHEN
HE USED TO GO TO SCHOOL, SAY 50 YEARS AGO...AS FAR AS
CREATING AN EMPIRE IS CONCERNED, I MUST ASK: ARE WE OUT
OF OUR MINDS TO GO AFTER SUCH NONSENSE?" HE NOTED THAT
IRAN IS SHORT NEITHER IN LAND NOR PEOPLE NOR NATURAL WEALTH.
IT HAS ENOUGH PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES JUST CONCENTRATING
ON BUILDING UP ITSELF.

6. RESURGENCE PARTY: SHAH WENT TO CONSIDERABLE PAINS TO
EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHES TO RESURGENCE PARTY
AFFAIRS AND TO CONGRESS TAKING PLACE IN TEHRAN OCTOBER 27-28.
HE CALLED THE CONGRESS A DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY, BUT WISHED
THERE WERE A BETTER WORD FOR "DEMOCRACY," WHICH HAS BEEN
SO GROSSLY ABUSED IN WORLD USAGE. HE SPOKE OF ECONOMIC

PARTICIPATION BUT ALSO OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION "WHEREVER AND WHENEVER THINGS CAN BE HANDED OVER TO THE PEOPLE TO BE RUN." IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CONGRESS, AND UNDER A FULL-TIME SECRETARY GENERAL, THE PARTY SHOULD DEVOTE ITS ATTENTION TO ORGANIZATION AND TRAINING OF POLITICAL CADRES. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SHAH-PEOPLE REVOLUTION SHOULD BE ELABORATED "ON THE WIDEST POSSIBLE SCALE" AND "IN HUNDREDS OF TREATISES AND BOOKS." NEVERTHELESS, PARTY SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF IRAN'S UNIQUE "FARMANDEHI" (I.E., LEADERSHIP) SYSTEM WITH UNIQUE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS BETWEEN THE MONARCHY AND THE NATION.

7. PAHLAVI DYNASTY: IN RESPONSE TO LEADING QUESTIONS, SHAH REVIEWED HISTORY OF PAST 50 YEARS, CONTRASTING LOW STATE OF IRAN'S DEVELOPMENT WHEN HIS FATHER ASSUMED RULE WITH IRAN'S SITUATION TODAY. BUT HE SAID HE THINKS PRIMARILY OF THE FUTURE AND WHAT GREAT POSSIBILITIES CAN BE DEVELOPED IF IRANIANS WORK HARD AND WITH DEDICATION. HE SPOKE OF RECENT DISCOVERIES OF COPPER RESERVES IN IRAN AND PROBABILITY THERE WILL BE FURTHER DISCOVERIES OF NATURAL WEALTH WITH WHICH TO CONTINUE IRAN'S MARCH TO A LEADING POSITION AMONG NATIONS.

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8. U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: IN BOX ON FRONT PAGE HIGHLIGHTED BY KAYHAN BUT NOT APPEARING WITH REST OF INTERVIEW, SHAH WAS DESCRIBED AS SAYING THAT OUTCOME OF U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WOULD NOT HAVE THE SLIGHTEST EFFECT ON IRAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS. IRAN CONTROLS A GOOD PART OF THE WORLD'S ENERGY RESOURCES AND THE FREE WORLD COULD NOT TOLERATE THE LOSS OF IRAN.

9. IRAN'S DEFENSE: IN ANOTHER BRIEF INSERT FROM KAYHAN, SHAH IS DESCRIBED AS WARNING THAT ANY THREAT TO IRAN'S VITAL INTEREST AND INDEPENDENCE WOULD LEAD TO WAR. "NO ONE SHOULD MAKE A MISTAKE ON THAT SCORE," SHAH IS SAID TO HAVE ASSERTED.

10. CHINA RELATIONS: AGAIN FROM KAYHAN FRONT PAGE, SHAH IS SAID TO BE FOLLOWING EVENTS IN CHINA WITH INTEREST, AND TO HAVE SAID CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG SEEMS TO BE ACTING WITH RESOLVE AND SELF-CONFIDENCE.

11. SOVIET PILOT: IN ANOTHER KAYHAN INSERT SHAH IS SAID TO HAVE EXPLAINED RETURN OF SOVIET PILOT AND HIS AIRCRAFT ON BASIS OF BILATERAL ACCORD WITH USSR AGAINST AIR PIRACY. THE SOVIET PILOT HAD NOT LOST HIS WAY AND HAD BROUGHT TO IRAN AN AIRCRAFT THAT DID NOT BELONG TO HIM. END UNCLASSIFIED.

12. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. COMMENT: LAST FOUR ITEMS THAT

APPEARED AS INSERTS ON FRONT PAGE OF KAYHAN PROBABLY WERE
AFTERTHOUGHTS INSERTED IN OCTOBER 25 EDITIONS TO SUPPLEMENT
SHAH'S COMMENTS IN MAIN INTERVIEW. ORIGINAL INTERVIEW
WAS REPRINTED IN BOOKLET FORM AND DISTRIBUTED TO PEOPLE
ATTENDING RESURGENCE ("RASTAKHIZ") PARTY CONGRESS. IT
IS CLEARLY INTENDED AS A BASIC DOCUMENT OR BLUEPRINT TO
GUIDE AND STIMULATE PARTY WORKERS. AS THE SHAH HIMSELF
NOTES, PARTY IDEOLOGY AND AIMS REQUIRE ELABORATION, AND
THAT IS A TASK TO WHICH PARTY WRITERS SHOULD TURN.
WHOLE DOCUMENT RINGS OF ASSERTIVE INDEPENDENCE,
A TUNE WHICH HAS COME TO CHARACTERIZE SHAH'S PRONOUNCEMENTS
ON IMPORTANT OCCASIONS WHEN HE FEELS UNDER SOME EXTERNAL
PRESSURE. IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT QUESTIONS PUT TO HIM
PERMITTED A NUMBER OF REFERENCES TO RECENT CRITICISM
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FROM U.S. SOURCES. INDEED, HIS REPEATED REFERENCES TO
DEVELOPMENTS OR UTTERANCES ON U.S. SCENE INDICATE IMPOR-
TANCE HE CONTINUES TO ATTACH TO THE IMAGE HE PRESENTS TO
AMERICANS.
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